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A STUDY OF THE KENNINGS IN ANGLO-SAXON  
POETRY.<sup>1</sup>

"I could tell you much," says Carlyle in a letter to Murray, "about the new heaven and new earth which a slight study of German literature has revealed to me." And one of his biographers, in commenting on this passage, remarks, "It is not, indeed, the case that direct translation from the German formed any important part of Carlyle's literary work. The benefit lay in the enlargement of his mental horizon by the discovery of a world of literature, and the suggestion how the literary forms of his own country, too narrow for his genius, might be rendered pliable by the infusion of this freer spirit."

A somewhat similar comment might be made, I think, with regard to the influence of Christian Latin literature on the Anglo-Saxon poets. In their case, as in the case of Carlyle, direct translation did not form any important part of the literary product, but the benefit, such as it was, came from the exploration of that new world of literature which set forth in Latin the doctrines and hymns of the church, and told in quasi-epic style Bible stories and the lives of the saints,—that is, the Latin church literature and the Christian Latin poems of Juvenius, Sedulius, Avitus, Arator, Lactantius, and others. From the coming of St. Augustine to the arrival of William the Conqueror, the one great influence exerted upon the vernacular literature from without came from the Latin,—not the Latin of the classic authors but the Latin of such inferior writers as those just mentioned. And, though this influence, so far as I know, has not yet been thoroughly studied in all its manifestations, it was in many ways as pervasive and definite as was the French influence exerted in the following

<sup>1</sup> Continued from *Journal of Eng. and Ger. Philology*, vol. VIII, pp. 357-422.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Thomas Carlyle*. Richard Garnett, LL.D., London, 1895, p. 27 f.

centuries by the *chansons de geste*, the *fabliaux*, the *lais*, and the allegorical romances, or the influence of Boccaccio on Chaucer, or the influence of the Italian and French sonneteers on the Elizabethan poets, or—to take a modern instance—the influence of Aristophanes in Browning's *Aristophanes' Apology*.<sup>\*</sup>

In a former article, I tried to indicate in part the nature and extent of this Latin influence on Anglo-Saxon poetry by tracing to Christian Latin sources a large number of terms or kennings used as designations of the Deity. It became evident, I think, that the great majority of these Anglo-Saxon phrases occur as a result of direct translation or close imitation of the many Latin terms for God, which abound in the Vulgate Bible, the church hymns, and the other Christian Latin literature; and also that this Latin literature served as a model for the practice of multiplying these terms in a loosely appositional fashion.

I wish now to examine the Anglo-Saxon terms for a considerable number of additional representative conceptions—some religious in character, others non-religious—with the purpose of discovering, if possible, their direct or indirect sources. I shall consider, then, (A) the kennings for Heaven, Hell, Angel(s), Devil(s), the Cross, and the Virgin; (B) kennings for Men, the Body, the Breast, to Live, to Die, and to Speak; and (C) kennings for the Sea, the Earth, the Sun and the Stars. In group A, the Latin influence will again be found strong and well defined; in B, less marked yet evident; and in C, more vague but still discernible.

It is to be noted that the terms in this group A, together with those used as designations of God heretofore considered,—that is, terms for religious conceptions—comprise about four-

<sup>\*</sup> Browning's poem is full of the translations of words and phrases taken from the plays of Aristophanes: for example "sham-prophecy-retailer" (*χρησμολόγος*), "scout o' the customs" (*ἐκκοστολόγος*). Cf. "Classical Elements in Browning's *Aristophanes' Apology*." Ō. N. Jackson. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. 20, p. 15, ff.

Browning's procedure in borrowing is very similar to that employed by the Anglo-Saxon poets in their use of Christian Latin literature.

fifths of the kennings in Anglo-Saxon poetry. It follows, then, that the great majority of Anglo-Saxon kennings are of Latin origin.

In the following lists, the symbol \* indicates that the exact or nearly exact equivalent of the term occurs in the other language, and the symbol °, that a term of similar import is found there.

In the Latin lists, there are many references to the *Analecta Hymnica*,<sup>4</sup> vols. 50 and 51,—thus, 50/65 and 51/96. In these lists also, S.H. refers to the Surtees Hymns; B.H., to the Ascension hymn ascribed to Bede (Migne, *Patrol.* xciv, 624 ff.); Q.B., to the Alphabetical hymn quoted by Bede in his *De Arte Metrica*. For a detailed explanation of all the references, cf. *Journal of Eng. and Ger. Phil.*, vol. VIII, p. 369 ff.

GROUP A:

Terms for  
Heaven  
Hell  
Devil(s)  
Angel(s)  
Cross  
The Virgin

(I, a.) *Heaven*:

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *eard*, *epel*, *ham*, *byrig*, *wynlond*, et al. pp. 53 f.

\*Caelum, passim in O.T. generally singular; passim in N.T. generally plur. \*regnum caelorum, Matt. 3/2; 4/17; 5/10 etc. passim in gospels. \*habitationem in caelis, 2 Mac. 3/39. caeli caelorum Eccli. 16/18. °aedificationem ex deo habemus, 2 Cor. 5/1. °domum non manufactam, aeternam in coelis, 2 Cor. 5/1. \*aeterna tabernacula, Lu. 16/9. \*laetitia

<sup>4</sup>*Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*. Vol. 50: *Lateinische Hymnendichter des Mittelalters*. Leipzig, 1907. Vol. 51: *Die Hymnen des 5-11 Jahrhunderts und die Irisch-Keltische Hymnodie aus den ältesten Quellen*. Leipzig, 1908.

sempiterna, Isa. 35/10; 51/11; 61/7. \*In loco habitaculi in caelo, III Reg. 8/30. \*in loco habitationis tuae, III Reg. 8/39. \*in caelo in firmamento habitaculi tui, III Reg. 8/43. \*in domo patris mei mansiones multae sunt, Joan. 14/2. \*civitas, Apoc. 21 passim. °sancta civitas, Apoc. 21/2; Apoc. 11/2; 22/19. \*civitas dei, Ps. 45/4; 47/2; 86/3 et al. \*civitas domini, Ps. 47/9; 100/8 et al. °aeterna gloria, 1 Peter. 5/10, \*regnum dei, Lu. 11/20 et al. °gaudium in caelo, Lu. 15/7; °gaudium coram angelis dei, Lu. 15/10. °veniunt in Zion laudantes,—gaudium et laetitiam tenebunt, Isa. 51/11. \*vita aeterna, passim.

\*Polus, 50/65, 111, 113; S.H. 21. \*poli, 50/127; 51/96. \*regna polorum, S.H. 8. \*poli regna, 50/110. °polorum sedes, S.H. 4. \*poli culmina, B.H. 6; S.H. 87. poli januae, B.H. 80. \*caelum, 50/113; 51/62. \*caeli regnum, 50/199. \*altitudo caeli, 50/25. °aula caeli, S.H. 8. °atria caeli, 50/211. °arx alta caeli, 51/304. axis caelorum, 50/217. \*regnum tuum, 51/69. futurum regnum, 51/3. \*regnum paternum, S.H. 42. \*regnum gloriae, B.H. 104. °paterna gloria, 51/72. °sedes perpetes, B.H. 35. \*caelestes sedes, 50/211. °caeli micantis culmina, B.H. 110. \*aether, B.H. 103; S.H. 56. °portae perennes aetheris, B.H. 90. °mansiones plurimae, B.H. 43. aula celsitudinis, S.H. 41. super sidera, 50/144. super aethera, 50/134.

°Vita beata 50/114; S.H. 8. °futurum gaudium, 51/108. °gaudium angelorum, 51/295. °celeste gaudium, 51/108. \*gaudia larga, 50/214. \*sempiternum gaudium, 51/298. \*lux perennis, 50/259. \*caeleste decus, 50/257. \*gloria perpes, 51/117. laus atque decus, 51/117. vita nova laetantium, B.H. 32. \*gloria, B.H. 113 et al. \*sedes superna, Avit. de Trans. 33. \*aether, Avit. passim. \*coelestia regna, de Die 127. gaudia sanctorum, de Die 11.

\*Aeterna patria, Lib. Sac. \*regnum caelorum, Aug.—Conf. 31. Lib. Sac. °caelestis lucis splendor, Acta Sanct. 11 Apr. aethereae sedes radiantis Olympi, Acta Sanct. 11 Apr. °aeternorum dulcedo gaudiorum, Lib. Sac. satietas aeternorum

praemiorum, Lib. Sac. \*gaudia sine fine, Lib. Sac. \*patria claritatis aeternae, Lib. Sac. \*gaudia sempiterna, Lib. Sac. dona coelestia, Lib. Sac. superna dona, Lib. Sac.

(I, b) *Heaven*:

Cf. Latin *patria, domus, aedificatio, civitas, habitatio, habitaculum, et al.* pp. 51 f.

\*Upeard, Gu. 1051; \*ece eard, Gu. 1155; °engla eard, Rid. 68/8; friþgearð,<sup>5</sup> Cri. 399; wuldres eþel, Rid. 67/7; °wuldres byrig, Ph. 588; \*wuldres wynland, Mensch. Gem. 65; °se glada ham, Ph. 593; °sigefolca gesetu, Dkspr. 1/66; \*godes ealdorburg, Rid. 60/15; °seo maere gesceaft, Met. 20/281; neorxnawang,<sup>6</sup> Men. 151; \*wuldorgestealda, And. 1686; °se beorhta boldwela, Jul. 503; \*eadwela, El. 1316; °sio scire scell, Met. 20/174; sceldbyrig,<sup>7</sup> Klag. Eng. 309; °engla eþel, Cri. 630; °se mara ham, Cri. 647; °wuldres wlite, Jul. 311; \*ece eadwela, El. 1315; \*heofonrice, El. 197; \*uplic eþel, Glaub. 32; \*uplic eþelrice, And. 120; \*ham in heahþu, Gu. 768; \*heah heofona gehlidu, Gen. 584; \*ece lif, Cri. 1052; °leoht and lif,<sup>8</sup> Ex. 545; °þaet leohte lif,<sup>8</sup> Ph. 661; \*ece leoht,<sup>8</sup> Geb. 3/30; \*langsumre lif. Fa. 19; \*þaet lange lif, Cri. 1464; °godes leoht,<sup>8</sup> Beo. 2469; °dryhtnes leoht,<sup>8</sup> Gu. 555; °heofones leoht,<sup>8</sup> Klag. 311; \*faeder eþel, Gu. 773; \*ece rice, Men. 224; \*tires blaed, Cri. 1212; \*widbrad wela, Gen. 643; \*rodor, Gen.

<sup>5</sup> The Christian conception of heaven as a place where those who suffer and are persecuted in this life shall be safe and happy would naturally lead to the taking over of a term like this indicating a place of refuge. Cf. O.N. *friþstaþr*. For the cities of refuge in the Bible, cf. Deut. 19 and Josh. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Whatever the etymology of this word, it was used to designate the Garden of Eden, Paradise, and, more loosely, Heaven.

<sup>7</sup> Bode (p. 70) compares the description of Valhöll in the Gylfaginning, where it is pictured as covered with shields. In view of the strongly Christian character of the poem, however, it is more likely that the author had in mind the idea of heaven as a sheltering city.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *lux perennis, caelestis lucis splendor*, the description in Apoc., Ch. 22: "*Et nox non erit, et non egebunt lumine lucernae neque lumine solis quoniam Dominus Deus illuminabit illos, et regnabunt in secula seculorum.*" (22/5.)

21; \*swegel, Gen. 82; \*uprodor, Gen. 99; \*heahrodor, Gen. 1595; °hyhtlic heofontimber, Gen. 146; \*wuldor,<sup>9</sup> Gen. 941; °epelstapolas, Gen. 94.

(II, a) *Hell*:

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *grund, grundas, hate dael, susla hus, wraecstow*, et al. pp. 55 f.

\*Infernus, passim: sometimes=sepulchrum; sometimes hades; oftener place of torment. ex inferno inferiori, Ps. 85/3. usque ad inferni novissima, Deut. 32/22. \*terra tenebrosa, Job. 10/21. °dolores mortis et pericula inferni invenerunt me, Ps. 114/3. \*terra miseriae et tenebrarum, Job, 10/22. \*in tormentis, Lu. 16/23. \*tormenta, Apoc. 14/11; 18/7, 10, 15. \*in hunc locum tormentorum, Lu. 16/28. °fumus tormentorum eorum ascendet, Apoc. 14/11. \*in ignem aeternam, Matt. 25/41. \*tenebrae exteriores, Matt. 8/12. \*ignis gehennae,

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Lat. *gloria*, meaning both glory and heaven.

<sup>10</sup> Bode's statement that, "Charakteristisch ist, dass im alten Hel- denepos und auch in der Genesis der Himmel nie umschrieben wird; erst Cynewulf ist genug durchdrungen von Christlichen Anschauungen um auch hier eine Reihe neuer Benennungen zu erfinden", needs some modification so far as it relates to Genesis. In Gen. A occur *heofonstolas* (8), *swegelbosmas* (9), *wuldorfaest wic* (27), *wuldres epel* (83), *wuldorgestealda* (64), *epelstapolas* (94), *hyhtlic heofontimber* (146).

<sup>11</sup> How far the conception of Valhöll as the happy abode of the elect after death lingered and influenced the formation of phrases like *se glada ham, sigefolca gesetu, sceldbyrig* and others, is hard to tell. There can be little doubt, however, that the Christian influence was always predominant; and the probability is that the Christian writers avoided the pagan terminology in all cases except where the old term was sanctioned by the existence of an equivalent Christian Latin term. Compare the old baptismal vows, particularly the one in Old Low German containing the following specific promise: "*End ec forsacho all dioboles wercum and wordum, Thunaer ende Uuoden ende Saenote ende allum them unholdum the hira genotas sint.*" (Wilhelm Braune: *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch*, p. 164. Halle, 1902.)

<sup>12</sup> I add for comparison the kennings for Valhöll: *heilagt ve, Svafnis salr, Svelmis salr, Viþris höll*. (Vigfusson and Powell: Corp. Poet. Boreale, 2/462.)

Matt. 5/22. \*in gehennam ignis, Matt. 18/9; Mac. 9/44, 46.  
\*in gehennam, Matt. 5/29, 30; 10/28; Mac. 9/42; Lu. 12/5.

\*Abyssus, Eccli. 16/17; Apoc. 11/7; 20/13; Lu. 8/31;  
Rom. 10/7. \*ad abyssos, Ps. 106/26. \*puteus abyssi, Apoc.  
9/12. \*Profundum abyssi, Eccli. 24/8; 23/28.

Tartarus, 2 Petr. 2/4. °in stagno ignis, Apoc. 19/20;  
20/9, 14, 15. °in stagno ardenti igne, Apoc. 21/8. \*ad  
inferos, Gen. 42/38; 44/29, 31 passim in O.T. ad portas  
inferi, Isa. 38/10; Matt. 16/18. \*ubi vermis eorum non  
moritur, Mac. 9/43, 45, 47. °procella tenebrarum, Jude 13.  
°caligo tenebrarum, Evan. Nic. 391. \*carcer, Evan. Nic. 397,  
401. °tenebrae et umbra mortis, Evan. 393.

\*Infernus, 50/77; 51/285. °tenebrae inferi, 50/169.  
°umbrae inferi, B.H. 10. °infernus regnum, 50/7. regna leti,  
B.H. 24. averni fauces, B.H. 15. diri leti limina, B.H. 9.  
\*barathrum, 5/275; S.H. 128. \*gehennae claustra, 50/136.  
°infima tartara, 50/214. tartarus, 50/114. \*inferni claustra,  
S.H. 84. \*tartarea tormenta 50/148. °averti ignes, S.H.  
5. °flammae gehennae, Q.B. 26. °ignes perpetui, Q.B. 26.  
°inferni dolores, S.H. 85.

°Gehennae ignes, Aelf. Hom. 157.

°Aeterna nox, Arat.—Migne 68/85. °poenae malorum, de  
Die 11. \*miserae poenae, de Die. 93. °perpetuae poenae, de  
Die 109. °atrocissimarum gehennarum tormentum, Acta.  
Sanct.—11 Apr.

## (II, b) *Hell*:<sup>13</sup>

Cf. Latin *abyssus, infernum, stagnum, tenebrae, barathrum, carcer, ignis gehennae*, et al. pp. 54 f.

\*Grundas, Gu. 535; \*grund, Gen. 346; \*se hata grund,  
Chr. H.A.H. 120; \*paet hate dael, Cri. 1542; se calda grund,<sup>14</sup>  
Chr. H.A.H. 271; °se bitera grund, Klag. Eng. 149; \*se  
neowela grund, Klag. Eng. 31; \*se heolstra ham, Jud. 121;

<sup>13</sup> In my opinion, practically all the terms in this group are derived from the Latin.

<sup>14</sup> This phrase, however, is apparently not from the Latin.



°se enga ham, Jul. 323; \*se reonga ham, Jul. 530; \*se pystra ham, Jul. 684; °heolstorhof, El. 764; °morþorhof, El. 1303; °morþorhus, Cri. 1625; morþer, Gen. 342; niobedd, Gen. 343; \*se deopa seap, Cri. 1545; \*þaet swearte susl, Gu. 639; \*susla hus, Cri. 1604; \*susla grund, El. 944; \*suslhof, Hy. 10/31; °cwicsusl.<sup>16</sup> Cri. 561; \*grornhof, Jul. 324; \*wraecstow, Gen. 90; \*wearhtreafu, El. 927; \*manhus, Ex. 535; \*witehus, Cri. 1536; \*witescraef, Versuch, Chr. 27; \*hearmloca, Gen. 91; windsele, Klag. Eng. 320; °wyrmsele, Jud. 119; \*deapsele, Cri. 1535; °feonda byrig,<sup>15</sup> Jul. 545; \*se neowla scraef, Jul. 684; \*dim ham, Klag. 111; \*deop dalu, Gen. 305; \*hellegrund, Cri. 265; \*fyrbaep, Cri. 831; \*hat hellebealo, Cri. 1427; \*helgeþwing, Gen. 696; \*gryrebroga, Cri. 849; \*fyrloca, Klag. Eng. 58; \*witebroga, El. 932.

(III, a) *Devils*:

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *feond*, *bana*, *sceapa*, *andsaca*, *waerloga*, *morþres brytta*, et al. pp. 58 f.

\*Adversarius, 1 Petr. 5/8, et al. leo rugiens, 1 Petr. 5/8. \*maglignus, 1 Joan. 2/13, 14; 3/12; 5/18, 19. \*malus, Matt. 6/13. \*draco ille magnus, serpens antiquus, qui vocatus diabolus et Satanas, Apoc. 12/8; Apoc. 20/2. °quibus procella

<sup>16</sup>*Baratrum* is glossed *cwicsusl*, *hellelic deopnes*. Wright: A. S. and O. E. Vocabularies, p. 144.

In the case of some of these kennings for hell, it is difficult to determine whether there are any lingering echoes of the old conception of the abode of Hell. "From a lost song, quoted by Snorri, we get a good picture of her (Hell's) dread abode. Her hall is Sleet-den (El-iuþnir); despair the porch; stumbling stone the threshold; pale woe the door; Gilling the precipice, the key; falling peril the hangings; carebed the couch; lazy the latch; hunger the dish; famine the knife; starvation the spoon." (*Corp. Poet. Bor.* 2, 471.) The ideas of a place of torment, a fiery pit, and darkness are doubtless of Christian origin. One phrase, *se calda grund*, suggests the name of Hell's hall, *Eliuþnir*, but as in the case of the terms for Heaven, the Latin influence is predominant.

<sup>15</sup> Though the exact equivalent of this phrase does not occur in the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, the kenning might well be derived from that source.

tenebrarum servata est in aeternum, Jude 13. \*draco, Apoc. 13 & 16 passim. °lupus, Joan. 10/12. \*princeps daemoniorum, Matt. 9/34; 12/24; Lu. 11/15. \*mendax est et pater ejus, Joan. 8/44. \*rex angelus abyssi, Apoc. 9/11. \*rectores tenebrarum, Ept. 6/12. °draco et angeli ejus, Apoc. 12/7. °maledictus es inter omnia animantia, Gen. 3/14. \*maledicti, Matt. 25/41. angelus Satanae, 2 Cor. 12/7. °ab initio diabolus peccat, 1 Joan. 3/8. angeli mali, Ps. 77/49. (Cf. bestia, passim in Apoc.) °princeps et dux mortis, Evan. Nic. 394. \*Satan princeps, Evan. Nic. 395, 397, 400. \*Satan princeps tartari, Evan. Nic. 395. \*princeps mortis, Evan. Nic. 396. \*princeps perditionis, Evan. Nic. 400. °dux exterminationis, Evan. Nic. 400. \*auctor mortis, Evan. Nic. 402. °origo ommis superbiae, Evan. Nic. 402. \*caput malorum omnium, Evan. Nic. 423. inferus (a person) Evan. Nic. 395, 396. °spurcissimus inferus, Evan. Nic. 398. °foetidissimus inferus, Evan. Nic. 398. inferus et mors, Evan. Nic. 399. °derisio angelorum, Evan. Nic. 400. °sputio justorum, Evan. Nic. 400. possessor clavium inferorum, Evan. Nic. 401. °omnium malorum impiorum et refugarum pater, Evan. Nic. 401.

\*Hostis, S.H. 12. \*hostis invidus, S.H. 3; 51/7. \*hostis humani generis, S.H. 31. \*hostis antiquus, S.H. 32. \*hostis perfidus, S.H. 35. \*hostis improbus, S.H. 62. \*hostis fallax saeculorum, 50/8.

\*Mortis auctor, 50/148. \*custos saevus tartari, 50/7. \*dirae mortis artifex, 50/8. \*serpens, S.H. 166. °serpens vetustus, 50/211. °leti princeps, B.H. 12. °inferi, 50/107, 136 et al. °feroces, B.H. 16.

\*Daemoniorum princeps, Jno. II 609. \*primaevi criminis auctor, Avit.—de Init. 215. \*antiquus hostis, Lib. Sac. \*totius mali inventor, Acta Sanct. 16 Febr. °homicidiis gaudens, Acta Sanct. 16 Febr. °filii tenebrarum, Acta Sanct. 11 Apr.

(III, b.) *Devil(s)*:<sup>1</sup>

Cf. Latin *adversarius, hostis, maledictus, auctor mortis, princeps daemoniorum, lupus, draco*, et al. p. 56 f.

\*Helwaras, Jul. 3; \*helwarena cyning, Jul. 332; °synna hyrde, Gu. 552; \*synna brytta, El. 958; \*fyrssynna fruma, Jul. 347; \*morþres brytta, Jud. 90; \*morþres manfrea, Jul. 546; °se ofermoda cyning, Gen. 338; \*feonda aldor, Klag. Eng. 76; \*wiperbroga, Cri. 564; °wuldres wiperbreca, Jul. 269; \*se wipermeda, And. 1197; \*waerloga, Jul. 455; \*wrap waerloga, And. 1299; \*awyrge waerlogan, Gu. 883; \*sceapa, Cri. 775; °helsceapa, El. 957; °leodsceapa, Cri. 273; \*fyrnseapa, And. 1348; \*sceppend, Cri. 761; \*feond, El. 594; \*se ealda feond, ealdfeond, El. 207; °se alda, Klag. Eng. 34; °ece feond, Gen. 1261; \*feonda forespreca, Cri. 733; \*andsaca, Gu. 181; °godes andsaca, Gu. 204; \*wrohtbora, Cri. 763; \*se balewa, Chr. H.A.H. 119; \*se bealufulla, Cri. 259; deor daedscua, Cri. 257; \*feond moncynnes, Jul. 630; °sawla feond, Jul. 348; °sawla gewinna, Jul. 555; \*haelepa gewinna, Jul. 243; °gaestgeniþla, Jul. 245; \*ealdgeniþla, And. 1443; °facnes frumbearn, Gu. 1044; \*pystra stihtend, Jul. 419; \*hettend, Sal. Sat. 172; °ealdorgewinna, Gu. 505; \*niþgyst, Gu. 511; °ceargaest, Gu. 364; \*mansceapa, Gu. 881; \*wrohtsmiþ, Gu. 877; \*teonsmiþ, Gu. 76; \*grynsmiþ, And. 917; se blaca feond, Klag. Eng. 196; se swearta gaest, Cri. 269; se blaca, Cri. 897; \*se hearma, Ph. 441; \*se bona, Beo. 1743; \*feorhbana, Walf. 41; °gaestbana, Beo. 177; °se wites bana, Cri. 264; \*bana moncynnes, And. 1295; \*draca, El. 766; \*se awyrgda, Cri. 158; °se awyrgda wulf, Cri. 256; °se awyrgda gaest, Cri. 1690; °yfeles andwis, Jul. 244; se aglaeca,<sup>2</sup> And. 1314; °se atola gaest, Gu. 87; °se laþa gaest, Sal. Sat. 86;

<sup>1</sup> Practically all of these terms for the devil, in my opinion come from the Latin, in spite of the fact that we find a considerable number of them used also as names for Grendel and the other monsters in Beowulf. The number of identical or equivalent terms in Latin is very large.

earm aglaeca,<sup>2</sup> Ph. 442; °earme gaestas,<sup>3</sup> Gu. 884; °se werga,<sup>4</sup> Jul. 429; °se werga gast,<sup>5</sup> Beo. 1748; °ealra fula ful,<sup>6</sup> El. 769; hellescealc,<sup>4</sup> Klag. Eng. 133; helleþegn,<sup>4</sup> Gu. 1042; susles þegn,<sup>4</sup> Jul. 558; helle hæftling,<sup>4</sup> Jul. 246; hellehinca,<sup>5</sup> And. 1173; \*ealra synna fruma, El. 771; \*leahtra fruma, El. 838; \*synna fruma, Jul. 362; °unclaene gaest, Jul. 418; °helle-gaest, Jul. 457; \*ligesynnig, El. 898; °scyldwyrccende sceapan, El. 761; \*se unholda, Cri. 762; °se wraecmaega,<sup>6</sup> Gu. 530; °wraeca waerleas,<sup>6</sup> Jul. 35; °werige wihte, Geb. 4/57.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The term *aglaeca* is used in *Beowulf* as a designation not only of the monsters but also of *Beowulf* himself.

<sup>3</sup> For the conception of the devil as wretched and miserable, cf. the Latin *spurcissimus*, *foetidissimus inferus*, *derisio angelorum*, *sputio iustorum*.

<sup>4</sup> These phrases describing the condition of the devil in hell are doubtless indirectly of Latin derivation.

<sup>5</sup> *Hellehinca* was probably compounded on the analogy of the terms immediately preceding.

<sup>6</sup> Probably referring to the exile from heaven. The exile's condition was of course most miserable.

<sup>7</sup> Of the many names given to Grendel and the other monsters in *Beowulf*, the following are identical with or similar to terms applied to the devil, many of which terms, as has just been shown, have Christian Latin equivalents: *Feond*, Beo. 143, 985, 279, 726, 749, 963, 970, 438, 1273; *feond moncynnes*, 164, 1275; *synscaþa*, 708, 802; *manscaþa*, 713, 738; *gastbona*, 177; *leodscaþa*, 2094; *se lapa*, 132, 842, 440, 1257; *godes andsaca*, 787, 1683; *hellegaest*, 1275; *bana*, 2082; *ealdorgewinna*, 2903; *wyrm* (often); *draca*, 2402 *et al.*; *fyrena hyrde*, 751; *dolscaþa*, 479; *ealdgewinna*, 1777; *hearmscaþa*, 767; *feorhgenipla*, 970; *hellehaefta*, 789; *se ellor gaest*, 1349, 807; *waelgaest*, 1995; *se grimma gaest*, 102; *yrre gaest*, 2073; *fylwerig feond*, 962; *yrremod feond*, 726; *feond on helle*, 101; *þeodscaþa*, 2279, 2689; *se werga gaest*, 133; *aglaeca*, 425, 433, 647, 740, 990, 1001, 1270; *atol aglaeca*, 159, 593, 733, 817.

What is the origin of these kennings common to the devil and to Grendel is a matter difficult to decide definitely. In some cases it is fairly evident that phrases of Christian origin are applied Grendel; in others, it is possible that the transference was from the monsters to the devil. The *aglaeca* phrases and *se werga gaest* possibly are not of Christian origin; yet if Grein is right in glossing *aglaec*, *tribulatio*, *calamitas*, and *aglaeca*, *vexator*, *malorum auctor* as well as

(IV, a.) *Angels*:

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *boda*, *dryhtnes boda*, *ar*, *þegn*, et al. pp.

61.

\*Angelus and angeli, passim. \*angelus dei, passim. \*angelus domini, passim. \*nuntius dei, 2 Par. 36/16. \*nuntius domini, Aggaci 1/13. \*ministri sui, Heb. 1/7; 05. 102/21. °multitudo militiae coelestis, Lu. 2/13.

\*Nuntius caelorum, Ant.—Cook, Christ. 73. °chorus caelestis, S.H. 55. °multitudo caelestis exercitus 50/128. °caeli chorus, 50/169. \*chorus angelorum, 50/7, 199. passim. °chorus caelestium, 50/58, 112. \*chorus archangelorum, 51/13. \*chorus angelicus, 51/108. °chori superni, 51/153. °angelorum et martyrum chorus, 51/313. °chori felices, B. H. 70. °ordines angelici, 50/133, 242. °agmina angelorum, Q.B. 14. °angelorum agmina sancta, 50/156. \*coetus angelorum, 50/8. °caelorum militia, 51/102. °coetus caelestium, B.H. 51. °caeli exercitus, 50/217. \*cives superni, 50/121. \*cives aetherei, S.H. 57. °caeli cives et incola, 50/199. \*caeligenae, 51/139. archangeli 51/278. °beati angeli, 51/295. °dei archangelus, S.H. 110. \*angelus dei, 51/143. °celestis exercitus, S.H. 115. °caeli milites, S.H. 115. °sanctorum chorus, 51/127. intimus comes dei, 50/267.

\*Caelicolae, Prud. contra Sym. I 170.

\*Nuntii Dei, Ald. 131. \*angelica agmina, de Die 65. coelestes turme, de Die 65.

°Caelorum virtutes, Lib. Sac. °omnis militia caelestic exercitator *ingens*, then there are many Latin parallels in terms for the devil such as *totius mali inventor*, *caput malorum omnium*, *auctor* (*princeps*, *dux*) *mortis*, *princeps perditionis*, *dux exterminationis*, et al. In short in the case of common terms, the transference seems to have been from the devil to the monsters.

Likewise whether the old conception of Loki and his children, Hell, the Wolf, and the Serpent, had any influence in the formation of kennings for the devil is, I suppose, impossible to determine with certainty. Terms like *wrohtsmiþ*, for example, suggest the kenning for Loki, *bólva smiþr*; but such terms have abundant parallels also in the Latin phrases. The Latin also explains the word *wulf* as applied to the devil.

citus, Lib. Soc. \*exercitus angelorum, Lib. Res. \*angelus dei, Aug.—Conf. 114 \*angeli sancti, Aug.—Conf. 173.

(IV, b.) *Angel(s)*:<sup>17</sup>

Cf. Latin *nuntius, nuntius dei, nuntius domini, minister, chorus caelestis*, et al. p. 60.

\*Dryhtnes boda, Gen. 1; \*godes boda, Cri. 1; \*ar, Cri. 595; °wuldres ar, Cri. 493; \*aerendgast, Gen. 2296; \*aerendraca, Gen. 2434; °wuldres wilboda, Gu. 1220; \*heahþegn, Dan. 443; \*wuldres þegn, And. 926; °metodes þegn, Gen. 2907; °wuldres bearn,<sup>18</sup> Gen. 11; °bearn heofonwara,<sup>18</sup> Sal. Sat. 464; °wuldor gast,<sup>18</sup> Gen. 2912; freoþuweard,<sup>19</sup> Gu. 144; friþowebba,<sup>19</sup> El. 88; freoþoscealc,<sup>19</sup> Gen. 2301; °weorud wlitescyne, Cri. 493; °wlitig wuldres boda, El. 77; sigorcynn. El. 754; \*heofonengla þreat, Cri. 492; °halige gastas, Kreuz. 11; °gasta weardas, Gen. 12. \*heofonwaran (frequent.)

(V, a.) *Cross*:

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *treo, lifes treo, sigebeacen*, et al.

\*Lignum, Acta 5/3; 10/39 passim. crux Christi, 1 Cor. 117, et al. \*lignum vitae, Gen. 2/9, 24; Apoc. 2/7; 22/2; 14. \*signum victoriae, Evan. Nic. 430. \*lignum crucis, Evan. Nic. 401.

<sup>17</sup> The number of kennings for angels is not large either in Anglo-Saxon or in Latin. Those in Anglo-Saxon are probably all of Latin origin. Perhaps some unconscious influence was exerted by the old conceptions of the *liosalfar*, which in many ways would harmonize with the Christian conception of the angels. (Cf. also the Old Norse kennings for the Aesir: *Hroptz megir, Hroptz gildar, As-megir, Asa synir, Sigtiva synir*, etc. Corp. Poet. Bor. 2/462.) But the Christian influence is evidently the direct and predominant one.

<sup>18</sup> Though I have not found the exact equivalents of these phrases in Latin, doubtless they come indirectly from that source.

<sup>19</sup> Of these terms for angels *friþowebba* is interesting because it is also used as a designation of women (cf. Beo. 1942, *freoþuwebbe*). The conception apparently is that the angels may settle the feud between God and man just as a woman by being given in marriage may settle a feud between tribes. On the Latin side, compare the message of the angels: "*Gloria in altissimis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis*," (Lu. 2/14).

\*Vitae arbor, 50/113. \*lignum crucis 50/7. \*lignum 50/74 passim. \*arbor 50/76. °signum crucis mirabile, 51/85. \*sacra crux 51/254. °venerabile robur, 51/251. \*arbor decora et fulgida, S.H. 78.

\*Crux triumphalis, Prud.—Cath. X 83. °signum crucis, Acta Sanct. 4 May passim. °Signum crucis ex lumine claro constitutum, Acta. Sanct.—4 May. \*sancta crux, Acta Sanct.—4 May passim.

(V, b.) *Cross*:<sup>20</sup>

Cf. Latin *lingnum, arbor, patibulum, signum victoriae*, et al.

°Haelendes treow, Kreuz. 25; \*þaet halge treo, El. 107; \*lifes treo, El. 1027; \*wuldres treo, El. 89; \*wuldres beam, El. 217; \*wuldres wynbeam, El. 844; °sigebeam, Kreuz. 13; sigebeacen, El. 168; \*se blaca beam, El. 91; \*beam, Cri. 729; °rodorcyninges beam, El. 886; \*se aepela beam, El. 1073; \*beacen, El. 92; °beacen godes, El. 109; galga, El. 179; °maerost beam, El. 1012; °aepelcyninges rod, El. 219; \*sigorbeacen, El. 984; °selest sigebeama, El. 1027; \*sigores tacen, El. 85; °þaet wlitige treo, El. 165; \*rodetreo, El. 147; °þaet maere treo, El. 214; \*sio haliga rod, El. 1011; gealgtreow, Kreuz, 146.

(VI, a.) *The Virgin*:

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *maeg manes leas, wifa wuldor*, et al.

Regina caeli inclita 51/139. stella maris 50/246; S. H. 76, et al. \*sacra virgo 51/143. regis porta, 51/145. virguncula 51/139. °beata mater, S. H. 74. \*gloriosa femina, S. H. 74. regis alta janua, S. H. 74. porta lucis fulgida, S. H. 74. °alma dei genetrix, De Die Judic. 148. °dei mater alma, S. H. 76. °mundi domina, Ant.—Cook Crist. p. 103. virgo virginum, Ant.—Cook Crist, p. 84. °virgo mater 51/139. \*dulcis

<sup>20</sup> The kennings for Odin's gallows are: *Yggdrasils askr, varg-tre, vinga meiþr, sigynjar vers hestr, sigars ior, horva sleipnir*. (Corp. Poet. Bor. 2/462.) What was the relation of the *varg-tre* to the Christian ideas about the cross, I shall not undertake to decide. The Anglo-Saxon kennings doubtless go back to the Latin phrases.

filia 51/139. semper virgo, S. H. 76. felix caeli porta, S. H. 76. mater clara virgo B. H. 55. °dei generatrix inclita 50/110. porta, Arat.-Migne 68/95.

(VI, b.) *The Virgin.*<sup>21</sup>

Cf. Latin *gloriosa femina, beata mater, et al.*

\*Wifa wuldor, Men. 149; °faegerust maegþa, Men. 148; °cwena selost, Men. 168; \*dryhtnes modor, Men. 169; °cyn-inges modor, Men. 93; °modor maere meotudes suna, Cri. 93; \*maegþ manes leas, Cri. 36; \*maegþ Maria, Cri. 176; °faemme geong, Cri. 175; °seo faemme, Cri. 123; °faemme freolicast, Cri. 72; \*sio eadge maeg, Cri. 87; °þu maere middangeardes, Cri. 275; °seo clæneste cwen, Cri. 276; °bryd þæs selestān swegles bryttan, Cri. 280-1; °hlaefdige wuldor-weorudes, Cri. 285; °wifa wynn, Cri. 71.

Thus far I have been considering terms of a strictly religious nature,—designations for God, Heaven, Hell, Devil(s), Angel(s), and the Virgin. And the conclusion, I think, is inevitable that the great majority of these Anglo-Saxon terms were borrowed directly or indirectly from the Latin.

I shall now consider the Anglo-Saxon terms for conceptions not of a religious nature,—terms for Men, Human Body, Breast, to Live, to Die, Death, and to Speak, also terms for the Sea, the Earth, the Sun, the Moon and the Stars.

GROUP B:

Terms for

Men

Body

Breast

Live

Die

Death

Speak

<sup>21</sup> These terms are doubtless all of Latin origin.



(I, a.) *Men*:

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *gastas*, *gastberend*, *feorhberend*, *eorþbuend*, *burhsittend*, *fira bearn*, et al.

\*Genus hominum, Acta 17/26; 2 Mac. 7/28. \*filii hominum, Ps. 4/3; 10/5; 11/29; 13/2- passim. Oftē in N. T. \*anima vivens, Gen. 2/7 et al. 1 Cor. 15/45. °omnes animae eorum, Ex. 1/5 et al. \*opus manum tuarum, Job. 10/3, 14/15. \*habitatores terrae, Gen. 34/30; 50/11; Ex. 23/31; passim in O. T. \*habitatores orbis, Isa. 26/9. \*habitatores urbium, Gen. 19/25. \*habitatores civitatis, Gen. 24/13. \*habitatores urbis, Deut. 13/13; Judic. 20/30. Seculum, passim. \*filii hujus seculi, Lu. 16/8. \*genus humanum, Evang. Nic. 409. °turbæ, Matt. 5/1 passim. °multitudo, Joan. 6/2, passim. °linguae, Dan. 3/4, 7, 98; 5/19. \*generatio, Deut. 32/5, 20, (frequent).

\*Terrigenae, 51/139. \*ruricolae 50/145. \*genus humanum 50/77. \*filii hominum 51/293. mortales B. H. 11.

\*Genus humanum, Ven. Fort. Migne, 88/132; De Die 10. \*omnes homines, De Die 66. filii Adam, Aug.-conf. 13, 187, 189. \*fili hominum, Aug.-Conf. 79, 203, 311.

(I, b) *Men*:

Cf. Latin *animae*, *anima vivens*, *habitatores terrae*, *terrigeneae*, *ruricolae*, *genus humanum*, *habitatores urbium*, *fili hominum*, et al.

\*Gastas,<sup>22</sup> And. 1002; \*gastberend,<sup>22</sup> Cri. 1600; \*sawelberend,<sup>22</sup> Beo. 1005; \*reordberend,<sup>22</sup> Cri. 278; \*feorhberend,<sup>22</sup> Gen. 1955; \*cwic wiht,<sup>22</sup> Rid. 29/8; °dryhtwuniend,<sup>22</sup> Craeft. 7; \*woruldwuniend,<sup>24</sup> Met. 13/7; \*woruldbuend,<sup>24</sup> Met. 13/35;

<sup>22</sup> *Gastas*, *gastberend*, *sawelberend*, and *feorhberend*, not used in Beowulf (except *sawelberend* once in a moralizing passage, 1002 ff) or in the non-religious poems, probably come from the Biblical account of the creation, as does also *cwic wiht*. Cf. Latin *anima* and *anima vivens* as terms for men.

<sup>23</sup> *Reordberend*, probably an analogical formation, is also not used in Beowulf or the non-Christian poems. I think it not improbable that it comes ultimately from the Latin *linguae* used as a term for men.

\*eorþbeund,<sup>24</sup> Ex. 84; \*eorþwaran,<sup>24</sup> Cri. 382; \*grundbuend,<sup>24</sup> Beo. 1006; \*londbuend,<sup>24</sup> Wid. 132; \*foldbuend,<sup>24</sup> Gu. 35; °herbuend,<sup>24</sup> Jud. 96; °sundbuend, Cri. 73; °egbuend,<sup>25</sup> Eadg. 4/57; °þeodbuend,<sup>24</sup> Cri. 616; \*burhsittend, Cri. 337; \*burhwaran, Met. 10/47; eormencynn<sup>26</sup>, Mensch. Ges. 96; lgodes handgeweorc, Cri. 226; \*woruldbearn, Rid. 81/27; \*foldan bearn,<sup>27</sup> Gen. 1664; °folcbearn,<sup>27</sup> Gen. 1760; \*dryhta bearn,<sup>27</sup> Gu. 1103; \*æþelinga bearn,<sup>27</sup> Gen. 1216; \*gumena bearn,<sup>27</sup> Beo. 878; \*leoda bearn,<sup>27</sup> Cri. 2; \*elda bearn,<sup>27</sup> Dan. 106; \*haeleþa bearn,<sup>27</sup> Jud. 51; \*fira bearn,<sup>27</sup> Cri. 242; \*nipþa bearn,<sup>27</sup> Rid. 58/6; \*wera bearn,<sup>27</sup> Rid. 27/18; \*monna bearn,<sup>27</sup> Ex. 395; °byre monnes, Ph. 128; \*fira cynn,<sup>28</sup> Cri. 610; \*aelda cynn,<sup>28</sup> Cri. 780; \*monnacynn,<sup>28</sup> Jul. 470; eorlas on eorþan. Jul. 510; \*manna gecynd, El. 734; °werþeod, El. 17; yrm-enþeoda, Men. 139; \*haeleþa cynn<sup>28</sup> And. 909; folc under

<sup>24</sup> As for the *buend*, *wuniend*, and *waran* combinations, the evidence is somewhat conflicting. *Buend* combinations occur 8 times in Beo., 1 in Finnsb., and 1 in Wid., and 1 in Rid.; their occurrence might reasonably be explained on the ground that they were early borrowed from the language of the church. All of these combinations are very numerous in the Christian poems, where they naturally suggest *habitatores terrae*, *terrigenae*, etc.

<sup>25</sup> *Dryhtwuniend* and *egbuend* are apparently analogical formations, the latter being used in the Chronicle to designate the inhabitants of England.

<sup>26</sup> *Eormencyn* occurs once in Beowulf (1957) and *eormenþeod* only in this instance and here in the plural. They suggest at once *irmindeot* of the Hildebrandslied and the frequent *irminþiod* of the Heliand, and were possibly (but, to my mind, by no means certainly) old Germanic formations used to designate mankind in the same way that *genus humanum* was used in Latin.

<sup>27</sup> The *bearn* combinations are used very infrequently in the non-religious poems with the exception of Beowulf; and when they do occur, once in Seef, and once in Run., six times in Rid., and eight times in Beowulf, this fact together with the fact that *alða börn*, *alða synir*, *gumna synir*, *yta synir* occur in Old Norse and *kint der manne* in Old High German, would not disprove that these compounds were early taken over from the language of the church into the everyday speech and that they come from the very common Latin *filii hominum*.

<sup>28</sup> That these *cynn* compounds are derived from *genus humanum* might be explained in the way mentioned above in note 27.

wolcnum, Cri. 588; folc under roderum, Cri. 569; wera cneoris, Ex. 3.

Most of the Anglo-Saxon terms for Men may be grouped in four classes: (1) the *berend* group; (2) the *buend* group; (3) the *bearn* group; (4) the *cynn* group. In each of these groups I think the relations to the Latin were somewhat as follows:

(1) BEREND: terms for warriors, such as *aescherend* and the like, were probably but not certainly formed before there was any Latin influence, though similar formations occur in Latin, as, for example, Vergil's *scutatus*, *clipeatus*, *cristatus*, etc. On the analogy of these terms were later formed expressions for conceptions borrowed from the Latin,—*gastberend*, *sawelberend*, *reordberend*, and perhaps *feorhberend*,—terms in which *berend* has become a suffix meaning simply “having”, “possessing”. Of these terms it is probable that *gastberend* (*-gast*), *sawelberend*, and perhaps *feorhberend* come from the Latin *anima* and *anima vivens*, which occur frequently in the Genesis account of the creation. As for *reordberend*, I suggest that it may come from the Latin *linguae*, which recurs many times in Daniel in the formula *nationes, tribus et linguae* as a term for men. It is of some significance that the term *reordberend* is used in the Anglo-Saxon poem Daniel. As has already noted, this group does not occur in Beowulf (except in 1004) and the non-religious poems. In Old Norse we find *berendr* used as a suffix in *sverpberendr*, *hringberendr*, *randberendr*, *seipberendr*, and *skrökberendr*.

If *gastberend*, *sawelberend*, *reordberend*, and *feorhberend* are of Biblical origin, it may be asked why they are not used in the Heliand or the Old Saxon Genesis. In regard to the Heliand, the author, as I shall show, follows faithfully the terminology of the Latin Tatian, that is, of the Gospels, and gives no evidence of familiarity with the language of the Old Testament, in which *anima* and *anima vivens* are used as terms for men. In regard to the Old Saxon Genesis, one can say that these terms are infrequent even in the large body of An-

glo-Saxon religious poetry, and that it is not of any great significance that they do not appear in that part of the Old Saxon poem which is preserved, particularly since that part does not treat of the creation.

2. BUEND: to this group may be added the *wuniend* and *waran* combinations. Though *buend* compounds occur eight times in *Beowulf*, and once in *Widsiþ* and *Finnsburg* respectively, there is some evidence to show that they are not ancient Germanic terms but that they come from the Latin *habitatores terrae*, *habitatores urbium*, and *habitatores orbis*, which are very frequent in the Old Testament. In Old Norse, the *buend* combinations do not occur as terms for men. In the *Heliand*, with its New Testament terminology, there is only one example, *erthbuendi* (4316). In the Anglo-Saxon *Genesis A*, on the other hand, *eorþbuend* occurs five times and *herbuend* once. In *Widsiþ*, *londbuend* (132) occurs in a Christian passage. As for *Beowulf* and *Finnsburg*, the occurrence of the terms might be explained on the theory that they were early and naturally adopted into everyday speech.

3. BEARN: in Old Norse, the only phrase I have found containing this term is *alda börnum* (Vsp. 20). In Old Saxon, on the other hand, the *barn* combinations are very frequent as designations of men. In Anglo-Saxon, outside of the strictly religious poems, they occur in *Beowulf* eight times, and once in the *Seafarer* and the *Rune* poem respectively. In the *Seafarer* (77), *aelda bearn* occurs in a Christian passage,

þæt hine *aelda bearn* aefter hergen  
and his lof siþþan lifge mid englum  
awa to ealdre, ecan lifes blaed. (77-79)

And the *Rune* poem is a Christian production.

The Latin equivalent, *filii hominum*, is not only very frequent throughout the Old Testament, but occurs often in the New Testament in the Gospels and elsewhere, a fact which would explain its frequent use in the *Heliand*. In all the Anglo-Saxon religious poems except those of *Cynewulf* (who seems to restrict the use of the word *bearn* for the most part to

the designation of Christ) the *bearn* compounds are very frequent. It is then, in my opinion, quite possible that these phrases were not old Germanic terms but that they were derived from the Latin.

4. CYNN: it does not seem probable that the primitive Germans or any other primitive people would conceive of all mankind as a unit. If it be objected that *irmindeot* in the Hildebrandslied (*chud ist mir al irmindeot*, 12) embodies this conception, what then is meant by the plural *yrmenpeodum* (Men. 139) in Anglo-Saxon? Does *irmindeot* in the Hildebrandslied necessarily mean the entire human race? On the whole, it seems possible that the *cynn* compounds are derived from the Latin *genus humanum*.

(II, a.) *Body*:

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *eorþfaet*, *banfaet*, *banhus*, *feorhhus*, *sawelhus*, et al.

°Hominem de limo terrae, Gen. 2/7. \*caro, Eph. 2/3, (frequent) °vas perditum, Ps. 30/13. °vases fictiles, 2 Cor. 4/7. °terrestris domus, 2 Cor. 5/1. °pulvis, Gen. 3/19; Ps. 103/29. °tabernaculum, 2 Pet. 1/4.

°Vas, 50/273; 50/18. °vas Prud.—Cath. VII 190. °cratis, Prud. Cath. VIII 59. °vas, Ven. Fort.—Migne 88/148. °cratis, Avit.—de Int. 100. °cratis, Vergil. \*domus animae, Aug.—Conf. 5. templum tuum, Aug.—Conf. 33.

(II, b.) *Body*:

Cf. Latin *vas*, *terrestris domus*, *domus animae*, *crates*, et al. *Lichama*,<sup>29</sup> And. 791; °*flaeschama*,<sup>30</sup> Gu. 345; *banhus*,<sup>31</sup> Ex.

<sup>29</sup> *Lichama* (O. S. *likhamo*, O. H. G. *lichamo*, O. N. *likhami*) was doubtless an old formation independent of Latin influence.

<sup>30</sup> *Flaeschama*, which occurs in the non-religious poetry only once in Beowulf and once in the Seafarer, I think was probably an analogical formation influenced largely by the frequent use of *caro* in the Vulgate for the human body.

<sup>31</sup> The conception of the body as a vessel, a house, or enclosure, does not occur in the non-religious poetry, except in Beowulf and the late

523; banfaet, Ph. 229; bansele, Dom. 102; bancofa, Gu. 94; banloca, Gu. 953; eadorgeard, And. 1181; licfaet, Gu. 62; °eorþfaet, Rede, 8; °lamfaet, Cri. 15; \*sawelhus, Gu. 1003; \*gaestes hus, Gu. 774; °sawlhord, Mensch. Ges. 34; \*feorhhus, By. 298; \*feorhbold, Kreuz. 73; feorhhord, And. 1182; °greothord, Gu. 1240; \*gaesthof, Cri. 821; °paet faege hus, El. 880.

(III, a.) *Breast, Heart:*

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *feorhhord*, *hordcofa*, *breostcofa*, et al.

°Thesaurus, Matt. 12/35; Lu. 6/45. °claustra pectorum, S. H. 61. °claustra pectoris, S. H. 166.

(III, b.) *Breast, Heart.*<sup>52</sup>

Cf. Latin *thesaurus*, *claustra pectoris*, et al.

Breostcofa, Wand. 18; breostloca, Dan. 167; hreþercofa, Cri. 1329; hreþerloca, El. 86; gewitloca, Met. 10/12; ferhþloca, Wand. 13; feorhloca, Gu. 625; hordcofa, Wand. 14; incofa, Met. 22/18; runcofa, Met. 22/59; hreþer, Beo. 1745; ferhþcofa, Gen. 2603.

poem Maldon, nor does it occur in the Heliand. In Beowulf only the *ban* combinations are found and perhaps these are native formations. As for the others, I think it quite possible that they are due to Latin influence. Equivalents of the *ban* compounds apparently do not occur in Old Norse.

<sup>52</sup>Of the kennings in this group, only *hreþer* occurs in Beowulf. In the Seafarer, *hreþerloca* occurs once; in the Botschaft, *gewitloca* once; in Des Vaters Lehren *breostcofa* once; and in the Wanderer *ferþloca*, *hordcofa*, and *breostcofa*, once each. As has been already noticed, the Christian influence is evident in the Seafarer, and it is also obvious in the other poems just named. (Cf. Bot. 31 ff.; Vat. Lehr. 63 ff.; and Wand. 2 ff.) In the religious poems also these terms are infrequent.

I have found but few Latin kennings. Of these *thesaurus* and *claustra pectoris* might have had some influence in forming Anglo-Saxon phrases. On the whole however, it seems more probable that the conception of the breast as the seat of thought and feeling was independent of the Latin. The number of Old Norse terms for this conception is very large: cf. *muntun*, *munvangr*, *munströnd*, *hugtun*, *hugborg*, *viljabyrgi hus hugar*, et al. (Corp. Poet. Bor. 2/452.)

(IV, a.) *Live, Life:*

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *worulde brucan*, *blaeddaga brucan*, et al.

Mundo uti, 1 Cor. 7/31. (Cf. \*voluptates vitae, Lu. 8/14. mundi gaudia, 51/137 (frequent) \*vitae<sup>1</sup> gaudia, 51/196; S. H. 53. fugitiva gaudia mundi; Ven. Fort.—Migne 88/162, 172.)

(IV, b.) *To Live:*<sup>2</sup>

Cf. Latin *mundo uti*, also such phrases as *mundi gaudia*, *vitae gaudia*. pp. 000.

°Eardes brucan, Gen. 1952; °burhwelan brucan, Beo. 3100; \*worulde brucan, Beo. 1062; °lifwynna brucan, Beo. 2097; °lifgesceafta brucan, Beo. 1953; °blaeddaga brucan, Gen. 1201; °worolde wynne healdan, Beo. 1080.

(V, a.) *Die:*

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *gewitan*, *feorh aleccan*, *feorh gesellan*, *gast onsendan*, *dryhten secan*, et al.

\*Egrediens anima, Gen. 35/18. °vadam et non revertar, Job. 10/21 \*animam ponere, Joan. 10/15; 17, 18; 13/37, 38; 15/13. °si terrestres domus nostra hujus habitationis dissolvatur, 2 Cor. 5/1. \*animam dare, Joan. 10/11. (Cf. quaerite primum regnum dei, Lu. 12/31. cumque quaesieris dominum, Deut. 4/29. non est requirens deum, Ro. 3/11. qui inquirant dominum, Prov. 28/5. inquantibus se remunerator sit, Heb. 11/6.) \*spiritum emittere, Matt. 27/50. \*spiritum tradere, Joan. 19/30. expirare, Mar. 15/37; Lu. 23/46. °dissolvi et esse cum Christo, Philipp. 1/23. \*mortem gustare, Hebr. 2/9. °morte morior, Matt. 15/4. \*ad caelum mittere spiritum, 51/256. °tartarea caeca petere, 50/212. °sidera celsa petere, 50/212. °sidera petere, 50/241. °spiritus astra petit, 50/241.

<sup>2</sup> The phrases for to live are for the most part combinations with *brucan*. Latin *utor* and *fruo* were used in the same sense as *brucan* and possibly were influential in the formation of these terms; cf. *mundo uti*. With *lifwynna*, *worolde wynne*, and *blaeddaga*, compare *gaudia vitae*, *mundi gaudia*, *voluptates vitae*.

Sopitus morte quievit, Juv.-Gen. 198. \*decessit, Juv.-Gen. 1441. \*petiit deum, Juv.-Gen. 1441. \*corpus reliquit, Juv.-Gen. 1441. °arva deus petiit, homo sidera, Arat.-Migne 68/90. °spiritus astra petit, Avit.-Epitaph. S. Greg. VI 2190. °dominus caelum petiit, Greg.-Hom. in Evang. 29. °animam ad gaudia perpetuae exultationis emisit, Acta. Sanct. 11 Apr.

(V, b.) *To Die:*

Cf. Latin *egredi, decedere, animam ponere, animam dare, spiritum emittere*, and *deum* or *astra* or *sidera* or *caelum petere*.

In the following long list of kennings for *to die*, the exact relations to the Latin are extremely difficult to make out. The idea of death as a departure, a setting out on a journey, might well have been Germanic as well as Latin, and also the conception, giving up the world and its pleasures. In the brief notes on the list, I shall call attention only to those cases in which Latin sources seem to me reasonably probable, or in which the parallels are striking.

\*Gewitan, Gen. 1236; \*forþgewitan, Ex. 41; \*forþgewitan of lice, Gen. 1622; °forþgewitan of worulde dreamum, Gu. 1337; °heonan gangan, And. 893; °on forþweg gewitan, Beo. 2625; gumdream ofgifan, Beo. 2469; hleahtor alecgan, gamen and gleodream, Beo. 3021; woruld of gifan, Beo. 1216; woruld oflaetan, Beo. 1183; grundwong ofgifan, Beo. 2588; flet ofgifan, Wand. 61; lifdagas oflaetan, Beo. 1622; laendagas alaetan, Beo. 2592; \*lif oflaetan," Gen. 1073; onweg hweorfan of gearde, Beo. 265; °lifes weg siþe secan," Fa. 31; °gewitan on frean waere, Beo. 27; °godes leoht ceosan," Chron. 3/B.2; \*dryhten secan," Beo. 187; °methodscaft seon, Beo. 1181; °wynleas wic secan," Beo. 823; °gewitan deapwic seon, Beo. 1275; \*feorh alecgan," Beo. 852; \*feorh gesellan," And. 1618; °feorh wiþ flaesce ealdre gedaelan, Fa. 36; aldorgedal fremman, Gen. 1071; °friþgedal fremman, Gen. 1142; \*sendan sawle to Criste," Chron. 5/2; \*gast onsendan," And. 187; °sendan gast on godes waere," Chron. 5/3; °sendan gast to metod-



sceafte,<sup>35</sup> Men. 172; ende gesellan, Fa. 85; fyrngewyrht fyllan, Gu. 944; \*feorh ofgifan,<sup>36</sup> Fa. 12; \*feorh alaetan,<sup>36</sup> Jul. 477; \*lif alaetan,<sup>36</sup> Jul. 483; °langsumre lif geceosan,<sup>34</sup> Fa. 20; \*sawle forletan,<sup>36</sup> Jul. 488; °wuldres leoht gesecan,<sup>34</sup> Fa. 61; °sigelean secan,<sup>34</sup> Fa. 81; °langne ham secan,<sup>34</sup> Fa. 93; °eardwic uncuþ secan,<sup>34</sup> Fa. 93; °swilt þrowian, Fa. 71; ellor hweorfan, Beo. 55; from mandreamum hweorfan, Beo. 1715; °gewat sawol secean soþfaestra dom, Beo. 2819-20; grundwong ofgifan, Beo. 2588; °agifan eorþcunde ead, Gen. 1626; °ofgifan þas eorþan wyne, Cri. 1667; hinan wendan, Gen. 476; ellor scacan, Beo. 2254; ceosan oþer leoht,<sup>34</sup> Chron. 3/22; gangan in oþer leoht, Men. 97; °secan oþer lif,<sup>34</sup> Gen. 1626; °ceosan ece lif,<sup>34</sup> Ph. 381; °ceosan ecne raed,<sup>34</sup> Beo. 1201; °secan ece dreamas,<sup>34</sup> Dan. 441; °gangan on godes rice, Sal. 352; wica neosan eardes on upweg, Gu. 1340; °gaest englas feredun to þam longan gefean, Gu. 1280; \*feran onweg, secan hellegrund, Seel. 104; \*helle secan,<sup>34</sup> Jul. 682; ece lif gesecan,<sup>34</sup> Fa. 38.

<sup>34</sup> The *secan*, *ceosan*, *geceosan* combinations possibly come from the Latin *petere* phrases, which are common, though it is perhaps more probable that an old Germanic formula, which may have been *oþer leoht secan* or *ceosan*, served as a model. More probably still, the Latin phrases gave rise to terms similar to others already in existence.

<sup>35</sup> The *gast* (*sawle*) *sendan* (*onsendan*) combinations probably go back to the *animam* (*spiritum*) *emittere* phrases used in the account of the Crucifixion.

<sup>36</sup> These phrases, with somewhat less probability, may be assigned to such Latin combinations as *animam ponere*, *animam dare*, *spiritum tradere*.

<sup>37</sup> In regard to the Old Norse terms for to die, which are more or less parallel to the Anglo-Saxon phrases, it is to be noted that they do not occur in the older mythological poems and may be later formations: for example, *kvöl þola*, Atlam. 62; *fjorvi lata*, Sigkv. sk. 16; *lifi tyna*, Guþrkv. 2/12; *aldri tyna*, Sigkv. sk. 51/62; *öndu tyna*, Sigkv. sk. 51/60; *öndu lata*, Sigkv. sk. 53; *fara i ljós annat*, Atlam. 84.

(VI, a.) *Death*:

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *gedal*, *sip*, *hinsiþ*, et al.

°Tempus resolutionis, 2 Tim. 4/6. (Cf. dissolvi et esse cum Christo, Philipp. 1/23.) °depositio tabernaculi mei, 2 Petr. 1/14. occasus, Prud.-Cath IX 103. °et semitam, per quam non revertar, ambulo, Job. 16/23. fugit velut umbra et numquam in eodem state permanet, Job. 14/2. deficient et in pulverem suum revertentur, Ps. 103/29. hac nocte animam tuam repetunt a te, Lu. 12/20. si terrestris domus nostra hujus habitationis dissolvatur, 2 Cor. 5/1. bonam voluntatem habemus magis peregrinari a corpore, 2 Cor. 5/8.

(VI, b.) *Death*:

Cf. Latin *resolutio*, *depositio*, et al.

Though the conception of death as a journey is implied in various passages in the Bible, the exact term is not used (cf. Job, 10/21; 16/23, 2 Cor. 5/8 et al.) It is more probable that the Anglo-Saxon phrases expressing this idea are of common Germanic origin.

*Sip*, Gu. 1349; *se deora sip*, Sal. 361; *bealusip*, Ex. 5; *neosip*, Mensch. Gem. 55; *forþsip*, Gu. 1023; *ellorsip*, Beo. 2452; *forþweg*, Gu. 773; *hingong*, Gu. 783; *hinsiþ*, Gu. 1331; *heonansip*, Jung. Ger. 86; °*ealdorgedal*,<sup>88</sup> Beo. 806; °*feorhgedal*,<sup>88</sup> Gu. 1151; °*lifgedal*,<sup>88</sup> Gu. 1019; °*deapgedal*,<sup>88</sup> Gu. 936; °*lices gedal*,<sup>88</sup> Ph. 651; °*sawelgedal*,<sup>88</sup> Gu. 1008; °*gastgedal*,<sup>88</sup> Gen. 1127; °*nydgedal*,<sup>88</sup> Gu. 906; *ealdorlagu*, Gu. 1234; *feorhlagu*, El. 458; *feorhbealu*, Beo. 156; *ealdorbealu*, Beo. 1677; *wiga waelgifre*,<sup>89</sup> Ph. 486; °*woruld gedal*,<sup>88</sup> El. 581; *utgong heonan*, Jul. 661; *feorhewalu*, Jul. 573; *feorh-cwealm*, Gu. 887.

<sup>88</sup> From the fact that the *gedal* compounds are seldom found in the non-religious poetry but frequently in the religious poems, it is possible that these kennings show Latin influence. Cf. *resolutio*, *disolvere*, *depositio*. They do not occur in Old Saxon.

<sup>89</sup> As for the other phrases in the list, it would be difficult to determine whether or not there was any Latin influence. The personification *wiga waelgifre* occurs twice in the religious poetry (Ph. 486 and Gu. 972) and was probably not an old German phrase.

(VII, b.) *To Speak*:

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *wordhord onlucan, ferþlocan onspannan*, et al.

°Solutum est vinculum linguae, Mar. 7/35. levare vocem, Isa. 24/14; 1 Reg. 11/4, passim. \*os aperire, Ps. 77/2. (Cf. claustra oris, Micah 7/5.)

(VII, b.) *To Speak*:

Cf. Latin *vinculum linguae solvere*.

It is likely that these phrases for to speak are of Germanic origin. Probably the *onlucan* combinations are the older, and the *onspannan* and *onwreon* compounds, which occur only in the religious poetry, are later analogical formations. It is, however, worth while comparing the Latin *ora solvere* and *ora aperire* of Ovid (cited by Bode) and the Vulgate *solvere vinculum linguae* (Mar. 7/35). Compare also *claustra oris* (Micah, 7/5).

Wordhord onlucan, Beo. 259; modhord onlucan, And. 172; wordhord onwreon, Jul. 1; wordlocan onspannan, And. 470; hordlocan onspannan, And. 671; ferþlocan onspannan, Jul. 179; toþum ontynan, Zaub. 1/32; wordes ord þurhbraec breostes hord, Beo. 2792; laetan word ut faran, Beo. 2552; beadurune onbindan, Beo. 501; meoto onsaetan, Beo. 489; hreþerlocan onspannan, El. 86; wordum wrixlan, Beo. 366; muþ ontynan,<sup>40</sup> Ps. 77/2.

#### GROUP C:

Terms for

Sea

Earth

On Earth

Sun and Stars.

(I, a.) *Sea*:

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *floda begong, flodes wylm, yþa gewealc*, et al.

<sup>40</sup> *Muþ ontynan* translates *os aperire* in Ps. 77/2. Cf. *toþum ontynan*.

°Fluctus, Ps. 41/8; 106/25 et al.; Ex. 14/27. °fluctus maris, Job. 9/8. \*oceani limites, 50/136. ponti freta, 50/11; S. H. 7. °fluctus aequorei, Jno.-Gen. 244. °vastus gurgēs, Avit.-de Init. 35. °undae, Avit.-de Trans. 146 and passim. gurgēs, Avit.-de Trans. 140 and passim. \*oceani ambitum, Aug.-Conf. 237. °aestus (Vergil) often.

I have found but very few Latin kennings for the sea or indeed any of the natural phenomena. And even when there are parallels, it could hardly be maintained that the Latin expression was the source of the Anglo-Saxon phrase. In the notes to the following lists, I shall simply indicate the cases in which the Latin phrases are more or less similar.

The Anglo-Saxon kennings for the sea are much more numerous, varied, and highly wrought than those in Old Saxon, and are more like the numerous kennings in Old Norse. And both the Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse terms for the sea seem to me to suggest more than any others the quality of the Celtic imagination.

(I, b.) *Sea*:

Cf. Latin *oceani ambitum*, *oceani limites*, *fluctus*, *undae*, *gurgēs*, et al.

Hwaeles eþel, And. 274; maewes eþel, Bot. 25; fifelecyngnes eard, Beo. 104; fifel waeg, El. 237; fifelstream, Met. 26/26; ganotes baep, Beo. 1862; fises baep, And. 293; seolhwæþu, Rid. 11/11; seolhwæþu, And. 1714; baepweg, El. 244; hranrad, Beo. 10; swanrad, Beo. 210; segelrad, Beo. 1430; deop gelad, And. 190; argeblond, And. 383; aryþa geblood, And. 532; arwela, And. 855; waeg faet, Rid. 4/37; yþa ful, Beo. 1193; °floda begang, Beo. 1498; °sioleþa bigong, Beo. 2367; °yþa gelong, Bot. 40; fyrnstreamas, Walf. 7; lagofaesten, El. 249; °waeges welm, El. 230; °flodes wylm, Beo. 1756; °floda genip, Beo. 2809; °yþa gewealc, Seef. 6; °yþa gelac, Klag. 7; °sealtþa gelac, Seef. 35; sealtstream, Bot. 4; frigenstream, And. 390; sealtwaeter, Beo. 1990; seo fealu flod, Beo. 1050; se ginna grund, Beo. 1552; wæþema, gebind, Wand. 24; gar-

seeg, Ex. 281; °waetera geþring, Chron. 3B/27; brim, El. 253; heah holm, El. 982; holmþracu, El. 727; hreo hrycg, Cri. 851; °holma bigong, Jul. 112; earhgeblond, El. 239; brad waeter, Ps. 105/8; ceald waeter, Cri. 852; deop waeter, Gen. 2875; °waeteres þrym, And. 1262; °waeteres wylm, El. 39.

Most of the kennings in the first half of the foregoing list, that is those of the *hwæles epel*, *ganotes bæþ*, and *swanrad* type, probably are quite independent of any Latin source. Common in Beowulf, they occur in the other poems partly no doubt as the result of the influence of Beowulfian phrasing. This imitation is seen most clearly in Andreas. Of the phrases of this type, Cynewulf in the signed poems uses only *swanrad*. In Old Saxon they do not occur at all. In Old Norse kennings for the sea are very numerous: *silaegja*, *alheimr*, *diupan mar*, *bla-mær*, *glæ-heimr*; as girdle, *haupr-men*, *þangs-þjalmi*, *skers glym-fjöturr*, *landa band*; land of sea beasts, *ma-skeiþ*, *mava mæi*, *lyrgata*, *angrs buþ*, *hval-moenir*, *hvals rann*, *lyso-vangr*, *sæþings sloþ*; land of ships, *fleyja flat-vollr*, *borþa-braut*, *borþ-heimr*, *haf-sloþir*, *stafn-klif*; land of fishing, *dorgar vangr*; land of sea-kings, *Vandils jormungrund*, *Ekkils braut*, *Jalks mæi*, *Rakna rym-lei*, *Ropa rein*, *Ropa rost*, *Geitis vegr*, *Leifa land*, *Glamma sloþ*, *Rakna stigr*, *Froþa flat-sloþ*, *Sveiþa vangr*, *Sveiþa troþ*, *Solsa bekk*. Compare also the terms for the waves: *sia-gnipa*, *mar-fjoll*, *huna-gnipor*, and *Aegis doett*, *Hless doett*, *Eyluþrs nio brupir*, et al. (Corp. Poet, Bor. 2/456 and 470.)

The phrases, on the other hand, describing the sea as a welter of waters, with struggling waves and currents, as well as such phrases as *floda begang*, come much closer to the Latin, and may possibly have been influenced in their formation by such expressions as *fluctus*, *aestus*, *gurgēs*, *undae*, *oceani limites*, *oceani ambitum*, etc.

As to *garsecg*, without attempting an etymology, I simply call attention to the gloss in the Wright-Wülker Anglo-Saxon

and Old English Vocabularies (1/154), where *garsecg* is equated with *oceanus* and *sae* with *mare*, *aequor*.

(II, a.) *Earth*:

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *ymbhwyrft*, *eorþan sceatas*, et al.

\*Orbis, de Die—36. \*fines terrae, 1 Sam. 2/10. \*Omnis creatura, Rom. 8/22. \*orbis terrarum, (Vergil) often. \*orbis cardines, 50/265.

(II, b.) *Earth*:

Cf. Latin *orbis*, *orbis cardines*, *orbis terrae*, *orbis terrarum*, *omnis creatura*, et al.

The number of kennings for earth in Anglo-Saxon is much larger than in Old Saxon or even in Old Norse, if we may judge by the collection of terms in the Corpus Poeticum Boreale (2/456). With the exception of *foldvegr* and *mipgarþ* (Goth. *midjungards*, which has its equivalent in all the Germanic dialects) the Old Norse phrases do not throw much light on the Anglo-Saxon terms: thus *vind-kers botn*, *el-kers botn*, *alda ve*, *manna sjot*, and *i-groen* have no parallels in Anglo-Saxon.

°Hwyrft," Dan. 322; eardgeard, Wand. 85; grund, Hy. 9/30; yrmengrund, Jul. 10; brytengrund, Cri. 357; se sida grund, Gen. 134; se wida grund, Dan. 301; se ginna grund, Wid. 51; se ruma grund, Gen. 213; eorþweg, El. 1015; foldweg, Cri. 530; moldweg, Jul. 334; grundwaeg, And. 582; se wlitebeorhta wong, Beo. 93; þes grenna wong, Rid. 61/83; þes beorhta bosm, Pan. 7; þeodland, Cri. 306; burga gesetu, Cri. 1240; \*ymbhwyrft," El. 731; \*þeos side gesceaft, Sal. Sat. 368; þeos laene gesceaft," Sal. Sat. 32; frod fyrngeweorc, Ph. 84; frean ealdgeweorc," Met. 11/40; gumena rice, Met. 9/41; °eodera ymbhwyrft," Jul. 113; fira modor, Zaub. 1/67;

"*Ymbhwyrft*, which does not occur in Beowulf and the older non-religious poetry, is apparently a translation of *orbis*, *orbis terrae*, or *orbis terrarum*. In Ps. 89, it translates *orbis terrae*.

"These phrases suggest Christian influence.

foldan faeþm, Beo. 1393; \*eorþan sceatas,<sup>42</sup> And. 332; mid-dangeard, Beo. 75.

(III, a.) *On Earth:*

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *under roderum*, *under wolcnum*, et al.

\*In terra, Lu. 2/14. \*sub caelo, Gen. 1/9; Deut. 4/17, often. \*sub firmamento, Gen. 1/20. \*sub sole, (Vergil) \*per orbis cardines, 50/265.

(III, b.) *On Earth::*

Cf. Latin *sub caelo*, *sub firmamento*, *sub sole*, et al.

It is remarkable that the Old Saxon phrases for on earth have extremely little in common with the Anglo-Saxon terms. The only parallels in the Heliand, which has eighteen expressions for the idea, are *undar þesum himile*, which occurs once, and *mid firihon*, which also occurs once. I think it not improbable that the familiar Latin phrases had some influence in the multiplication of Anglo-Saxon terms. In any case it is worth while to call attention to the closeness of the parallels.

Under wolcnum, Beo. 8; \*under roderum, Beo. 310; °under roderes hrofe, Hy. 5/5; \*under swegle, Wid. 101; \*under swegles begong, Beo. 860; °under swegles hleo, Cri. 605; \*under heofonum, Wid. 142; °under heofonhwealfe, And. 545; °under heofones hwearfte, Rid. 42/32; \*under sunnan, And. 1915; under tunglum, And. 2; mid eldum, Wald. 11; be saem tweonum, Gu. 251; on eorþwege, El. 1014; on moldwege, Jul. 334; geond widwegas, Cri. 482; on grundum, Cri. 682; geond sidne grund, Cri. 785; geond ealne yrmenne grund, Cri. 481; ofer ealne yrmenne grund, Jul. 10.

<sup>42</sup> *Eorþan* (*foldan*) *sceatas* suggests *orbis cardines* and *fines terrae*. Compare *fram feowerum foldan sceatum þam ytemestum eorþan rices* (Cri. 879-80). It is reasonable to suppose from the nature of the phrase and from the plural *sceatas* that this was the original meaning. Sometimes, however, as in Kreuz. 43, it seems to mean the surface of the earth.

(IV, a.) *Sun and Stars:*

Cf. Anglo-Saxon *leoht*, *swegles leoma*, *heofoncondel*, et al.

\*Luminaria in firmamento caeli, Gen. 1/14, 16. *luminare majus*—*luminare minus*, Gen. 1/16. \**luminaria caeli*, Ezect. 32/8. \**lucerna*, Job 29/3. \**astra caeli*, Deut. 4/19; 10/22; 28/62. °*astra dei*, Isa. 14/13. \**sidera caeli*, Heb. 11/12; 2 Mac. 9/10. \**sidera splendida*, Baruc. 6/59. *sidera*, passim in O. T. \**stellae caeli*, Gen. 22/17; 26/4, passim in O. T. & N.T. *stellae*, passim in O.T. & N.T.

\**Lampas*, 50/113, (Vergil). *unaris lampas*, 50/30. \**lumina caeli*, 50/170. \**astra polorum*, 50/127, 170. °*mican-tium astrorum globi* 50/15. \**sidera caeli*, 51/62. *chorus astrorum*, 50/ 217. *aetherea sidera*, 50/239. *globi dierum et noctium*, Prud.—Peri. X 327. *menstrualis sphaera*, Prud. Peri. X 538.

(IV, b.) *Sun, Stars:*

Cf. Latin *lampas*, *lucerna*, *lumina caeli*, *luminaria*, et al.

\**Leoht*, Beo. 569; \**heofonleoma*, And. 840; \**swegles leoma*, Ph. 103; \**swegles leoht*, Ph. 288; *leohtes leoma*, Ph. 116; \**swegles tapur*, Ph. 113; \**sweglcondel*,“ Ph. 108; \**heofoncondel*,“ And. 243; \**roderes condel*,“ Beo. 1573; °*godes condel*,“ Ph. 91; °*woruldcondel*,“ Beo. 1966; °*daegcondel*,“ And. 837; °*wedercondel*,“ And. 31; *wederes blaest*, And. 839; *weder tacen*, Gu. 1267; *folca friþcondel*,“ Gu. 2539; *wyncondel wera*,“ Gu. 1186; *merecondel*,“ Met. 13/57; *beorht beacen godes*, Beo. 570; *gim*,“ Men. 109; *swegles gim*,“

“The *condel* phrases occur in the non-religious poetry as follows: twice in *Beowulf* and once in *Brunanburh*. They are more frequent in the religious poems, particularly in the *Phoenix*. It is not improbable that they were influenced by the Latin *lampas*, *lucerna*, and *luminare*. Their equivalents are not found in the *Heliand* and apparently do not occur in Old Norse.

“In *Beowulf* and the non-religious poems, the *gim* combinations occur as follows: once in *Beowulf* and once in the *Riddles*. They are most frequent in the *Phoenix* and the other religious poems. Latin



Ph. 208; wuldres gim,<sup>46</sup> Ph. 117; heofones gim,<sup>46</sup> Beo. 2073; se aepela glaem, Gu. 1252; heofones wyn, Beo. 1803; faeder fyrngeweorc, Ph. 95; seo aeþele gesceaft, Chron. 1/16; aepelast tungla, Cri. 607; halge gimmas,<sup>46</sup> Cri. 692; haedre heofontungol, Cri. 693; beacna beorhtast, And. 242.

#### OLD SAXON KENNINGS.

A comparison of the Old Saxon kennings with the Anglo-Saxon is in many ways instructive. The Heliand poet's chief source, the Gospel Harmony of Tatian, is definitely known; and it is interesting to note how he handles his material in the matter of kenning formation and to observe the differences and similarities of his diction as compared with that of the Anglo-Saxon poets. Such a comparison shows at a glance many striking similarities and reveals clearly also many equally striking differences, and makes evident the more popular style of the Old Saxon poet.

In regard to the religious kennings in the Heliand, they are fewer and less varied than the Anglo-Saxon. For example, there is only one kenning<sup>46</sup> for the conception of God as creator and none for the conception of Him as judge or giver. And the number of kennings in the other categories which the Old Saxon has in common with the Anglo-Saxon is much smaller.

The kennings for God in Old Saxon are also much simpler and more concrete than those in Anglo-Saxon. There is only one for the conception of Him as a spirit, only one for the abstract conception of Him as glory or splendor, and no ab-influence is not improbable, though I have not noted any close equivalents. They do not occur in Old Saxon or Old Norse. In general the Old Norse kennings for the sun have no counterparts in Anglo-Saxon, for example, *himins hleifr*, *himin-targa*, *ey-glo*, *fagrahvel alskir*, *Val-fjöþrs ve mana systir* *Dvalins leika* and *Mundil-fora dottir*. (Corp. Poet. Bor. 2/457, 470.)

<sup>46</sup> My statements with regard to the number of Kennings in the Heliand are based upon Sievers' Formelverzeichnis in his edition of the poem, p. 391 ff. Eduard Sievers. Heliand. Halle, 1878.

abstract terms like Anglo-Saxon *wyn*, *hyht*, or *maegen*. On the other hand, God as King is for the most part simply the most powerful of Kings or the heavenly King; as lord, *herro*, *drohtin*, *helag drohtin* or *frao*; as protector, *landes ward*; as savior, simply *heliand*; as father, simply *fader*; as son, *bearn godes* or *godes sunu*. There are no such complex or abstract phrases as the Anglo-Saxon *weoroda wuldorcynning*, *sigora soþcying*, *wuldres wealdend*, *þrymmes hyrde*, *eallra þrymma þrym*, *maegenþrymmes ealdor*, *eallre sybbe bearn*, *weoroda wuldorgifa*, *heafonmaegen*, *lifes wyn*, *haligra hyht*, etc.

The Old Saxon kennings for God, moreover, are more familiar and intimate than the Anglo-Saxon. For example, He is the best of all Kings, and *fro min the godo*, *the lioba herro*, *herro the godo*, *liof landes ward*, *heliandero* or *neriandero*, *leriandero* or *radandero best*, *allaro barno best* or *liobast*, *manno the best* or *liobast*. Similarly far more emphasis is laid on the human nature of Christ; He is called *barn* 43 times, *gumo* 14, and *man* 5,—in all these instances the term being used separately, apart from the name Christ. Such use of familiar terms is foreign to Anglo-Saxon.

What has been said of the Old Saxon kennings for the Deity is true, though in a somewhat less noticeable degree, of the kennings for other religious conceptions. For example, heaven is generally designated simply as *godes riki*, *ewig lif*, or *lioht godes* or *himiles*. The concrete conception of heaven as a *wang* occurs frequently in *hebanwang*, *groni wang*, as does also the conception of it as *lioht*, which is found 23 times. Such concrete visualization of course gives simplicity and vividness to the description. So, also, in the phrases for hell, the kennings are few and concrete, though the Old Saxon poet took over the Latin *infernus*. The same is true for devils, angels, and the cross: in comparison with Anglo-Saxon, the kennings are very few. *Feond*, *godes* or *drohtines engil* are the usual terms for devil and angel: there are no definite kennings for the heavenly hosts, and in the case of the cross, none for *signum victoriae*.

Turning now to the non-religious kennings in the Heliand, one again observes greater simplicity and less variety than one finds in Anglo-Saxon. It is noteworthy that among the kennings for men, phrases like the Anglo-Saxon *wuniend*, *sittend*, *waran* and *berend* combinations do not occur at all, and that the *buend* compounds common in Anglo-Saxon are represented by the single phrase *erþbuand* and that this is found only once. The *barn* combinations are the most frequent. In this connection, it is significant that the Latin *habitatores* combinations (e.g. *habitatores terrae, orbis*) are found everywhere in the Old Testament, whereas *fili hominum* occurs often in the gospels as well as in the Old Testament. Furthermore, the frequent *werod*<sup>27</sup> in the Heliand is often apparently a rendering of the often recurring *multitudo* and *turbæ* of the Gospels. Likewise it is noteworthy that in Old Saxon there is no kenning expressing the conception of the human body as a containing vessel or as a house or dwelling, a conception which occurs frequently in the Anglo-Saxon poetry. In the gospels Latin expressions for such ideas do not occur, but they exist elsewhere in the Bible.

In the Heliand there are no kennings for the breast as the seat of the soul and, as in Anglo-Saxon, only a few for live, death, and speak. Among those for death, combinations like the Anglo-Saxon *gedal* compounds are not found, which is also significant in view of the fact that the Latin equivalents for such phrases occur in the Old Testament, but not in the Gospels.

The Old Saxon Kennings for sea are very few and prosaic in comparison with those of the Anglo-Saxons: all the strikingly picturesque phrases that are frequent in Anglo-Saxon poetry are noticeably absent,—a fact which furnishes some evidence to support the theory that the Anglo-Saxon kennings of this type show Celtic influence.

In Old Saxon the kennings for die are, as in Anglo-Saxon, numerous and comprise the *sokian* combinations as well as the

<sup>27</sup>Cf. the feeding of five thousand. H. 2810 ff.

phrases for laying down life and giving up the world and its pleasures.

As for the Heliand kennings for earth, sun, moon and stars, they are fewer and more prosaic than the Anglo-Saxon phrases. It is noteworthy that the common Anglo-Saxon *condel* compounds do not exist. This too is significant in view of the fact that *lampas* and *lucerna* as designations of the heavenly bodies do not occur in the gospels but are found in the Old Testament and in the hymns. This comparison leads to the following conclusions:

I. If the Heliand poet was an ecclesiastic,<sup>48</sup> his style is not ecclesiastical, and he succeeded marvelously in accomplishing what the alleged command of Louis the Pious ordered him to do.<sup>49</sup>

II. All the religious kennings in the Heliand might well have come from the gospels through the Latin Tatian; they show no evidence that the author was familiar with the Latin hymns or even with the Psalms or Genesis. From the gospels also comes naturally the emphasis on the humanity of Christ.

III. Finally, this comparison with the Anglo-Saxon furnishes evidence for believing that not only many of the religious kennings in Anglo-Saxon poetry, but also some expressing non-religious conceptions come from the Old Testament, the New Testament outside of the gospels, from the Gospel of Nicodemus, from the Latin hymns or from other Latin sources. For the religious kennings this evidence is clear; it arises from the rare occurrence in Old Saxon and the frequent oc-

<sup>48</sup> Diese auffassung hat die annahme zur vorbedingung dass unser dichter ein mann von gelehrter, geistlicher bildung gewesen sei, d. h. doch aller wahrscheinlichkeit nach ein geistlicher. Heliand, p. XLIII ed. by Edward Sievens. Halle, 1878.

Der dichter des Heliand war also ohne allen zweifel ein sachsischer geistlicher. Ib., p. XLIV.

<sup>49</sup> Praecepit namque cuidam viro de gente Saxonum, qui apud suos non ignobilis vates habebatur, ut vetus ac novum Testamentum in Germanicam linguam poetice transferre studeret, quatenus non solum literatis verum etiam illiteratis sacra divinorum praeceptorum lectio panderetur. (Latin Preface to The Heliand.)

currence in Anglo-Saxon of the conception of God as creator; from the absence in Old Saxon and the presence in Anglo-Saxon of the conception of God as King of Glory, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, Lord of Hosts, Lord of Might, etc; of the conception of heaven as a city (as in Revelations), of hell as a place of imprisonment (as in the Gospel of Nicodemus); of the devil as a monstrous beast, dragon, or serpent (as in Revelations and Genesis); of the cross as the sign of victory (as in the Constantine story), and of the phrase "tree of life" which occurs—though not applied to the cross—in Genesis and Revelations. In regard to the non-religious kennings there is evidence to the same effect from the rare occurrence in Old Saxon and the frequent occurrence in Anglo-Saxon of *buend* compounds for men, and from the absence in Old Saxon and the presence in Anglo-Saxon of *wuniend*, *sittend*, *waran*, and *berend* compounds for men; of the conception of the body as a vessel, dwelling or enclosure; of death as a dissolution; and of the sun as a lamp or candle.

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